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666 Following the revolt of February 28, 1947, the new Chinese provincial administration accepted seven Formosan Chinese as commissioners in a total of fifteen. When K. C. Wu became governor, another effort was made to broaden the participation of local Chinese in government. The provincial commission was enlarged to include seventeen Formosans in a total of twenty-three. Greater number of local people were employed in the civil service. By June 1950, of the total of 81,006 persons employed by the provincial government, Formosans accounted for 53,024.[52] On August 16, 1950 the administrative areas were revised from eight hsien and nine municipalities directly under the province to sixteen hsien and five municipalities. Steps were immediately taken to promote self government in the province. The popular election of the magistrates of the sixteen hsien, the mayors of the five municipalities, the members of the hsien and municipal councils, and the members of the Provincial council was held for the first time in July 1950 and completed in March 1951. A new election took place in 1953-54. Since that time the election law has been modified so that future elections will take place on the same day in all sections of Formosa.

52. Fred W. Riggs, Formosa under Chinese Nationalist Rule, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1952, p. 49.

answer to questions submitted to them by the local government authorities." The heads of towns and villages had no obligation to seek or to follow the advice of local assemblies. The governor-general could dissolve the assemblies at any level at will.

The exceedingly limited extent of "self-government,"[1] which the Japanese had much publicized, was further minimized by the franchise. Suffrage was granted to all self-supporting male Japanese subjects 25 years of age or older, resident in the relevant districts for more than six months, who have been paying for six months or longer a minimum local tax of ¥ 5.00 a year.[6] Formosan Chinese were counted as Japanese subjects, but because the majority of them paid a city, town, or village tax under ¥ 5.00 a year,[7] the number

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6. Naito, op. cit., p. 73.

7. "The small landowners in Taiwan possess chiefly dry land and the majority of them own less than one ko (chio = 2.39 acres). But the village land tax from one ko of dry land is less than five yen and consequently the majority of owners, as well as all tenants and workers, have no right to vote." Grajdanzev, op. cit., p. 163.

1 [During Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945 -- Analyst]

631 of eligible voters among the Formosan Chinese
666 was extremely small. In 1935, the year in
641 which the so-called local self-government was introduced, there were 40,297 qualified voters among 270,674 Japanese residents, but only 187,155 qualified voters among 4,674,300 Formosan Chinese. The total membership, including government appointees of provincial, district and city assemblies as instituted in 1935, was 252 Japanese and 169 Formosan Chinese. Thus, not only were all administrative offices almost exclusively staffed by Japanese, but even in provincial and municipal representative bodies the Japanese members also far outnumbered the Formosan members.

625 For administrative control of the populace, the Japanese relied upon an elaborate police system. This system[8] comprised a civilian police force, numbering over 12,000 in 1940, supplemented by a special police force of over 5,000, functioning in the areas occupied by the aborigines and by a military police force numbering some 6,000. To facilitate the task of the police force, the old Chinese pao-chia system of collective responsibility was revived and strengthened. Approximately ten households formed a chia and ten chia a pao.

8. Ballantine, op. cit., p. 28.

631 jurisdiction of the hsien government in which they were located. The hsien were subdivided into chen [town] and hsiang [rural districts]. Towns and rural districts were further subdivided into ts'un [villages]. The cities were divided into ch'ü [districts, or sections] and ch'ü into li [wards]. A ts'un is composed of one hundred to two hundred households, and a li from one hundred fifty to three hundred households. Under the ts'un and the li is the smallest community organization, the lin [neighborhoods], consisting of six to fifteen households. Ts'un and li correspond to the former pao, and lin to the former chia, the designations having been altered to obliterate the unhappy associations the former names held for the people who were forced to live under the old system of pao-chia with its unrestrained police powers.

666 631 Elections of local representative bodies took place in 1946. Franchise was extended to all citizens of both sexes over twenty years of age. Approximately 91.80 per cent of the eligible voters registered for voting.[11] The

11. Total number of registered voters was 2,409,560, First Collective Report on the Civil Affairs of Taiwan, p. 139.

666 631 election of hsien and city assemblies was completed before April 7 and the provincial assembly (called the Provincial Political Council) was formally inaugurated on May 1. Although the functions of the local assemblies were principally consultative, they represented a great improvement over the Japanese system in two ways: first, the base for suffrage had been extended to include a greater number of voters, and, secondly, all the members of the assembly were elected. The election of district heads, magistrates, and mayors was deferred, because the authorities asserted the people at that time lacked administrative experience to undertake the work.[12]

635 After the local insurrection of February 633 7, 1947, the provincial administration was brought into conformity with that of other provinces of China. The post of administrator-general was abolished. A provincial council of fourteen members or commissioners, with the governor as chairman, was established. Half of the provincial commissioners were chosen from local residents, the Formosan Chinese. The monopoly bureau, whose restrictive activities were immediately responsible for the outbreak of riots, was

12. Ibid., p. 103.

45 Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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abolished. A new tobacco and wine bureau was created and placed under the finance department. A camphor company was formed under the department of reconstruction (industry and commerce), and a bureau of supply replaced the trading bureau. In 1950 the number of provincial commissioners was further increased to 23, of whom seventeen were Formosan Chinese. Local elections were held in 1950 and 1953-54. Members of assemblies of rural districts, towns, cities, and hsien and heads of villages, rural districts, and towns, such as mayors and magistrates, were all elected by direct vote. Members of the Provisional Provincial Assembly[13] were elected indirectly by the various hsien and municipal assemblies in 1950. In the second election of 1953-54, they were directly elected by the people. (Details of the organizations of the provincial and local government as well as the popular elections, will be considered in another chapter.)

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13. "Local self-government in Taiwan is, for the time being, confined to the hsien and municipal level. Since the provincial government is still under the direct control of the Central Government, the principal council is known as the Provisional Provincial Assembly; China Handbook, 1954-55, Taipei, China Publishing Co., 1954, p. 469.

642 According to Article 23 of the Constitution, all the rights and freedoms enumerated above may not be restricted by law, except in order to prevent infringements upon the freedom of other persons, to avert an imminent crisis, to maintain social order, or to improve general welfare. One condition under which civil liberties may be restricted is during the time of declaration of martial law by the president; another is the exercise of the emergency power granted the president in the temporary provisions adopted by the first session of the National Assembly.

SUFFRAGE AND THE RIGHT TO HOLD OFFICE

~~646~~ 642 Any citizen of the Republic of China over twenty-years of age has the right to vote. All elections stipulated in the Constitution, except as otherwise provided, shall be universal and by secret ballot.[28]

Any citizen over the age of twenty-three years has the right to be elected to office, except as otherwise provided by law. All candidates in the election prescribed by the Constitution shall openly campaign for election. Intimidation and material inducement

28. Ibid., Article 129.

646 are strictly forbidden, and disputes concerning
642 elections shall be settled by the courts (Articles 130-33). The delegates to the National Assembly and members of the Legislative Yuan are elected directly by the people; but the president and vice-president are elected by the National Assembly, and the members of the Control Yuan are elected by the provincial and municipal assemlies. In local elections of 1950 and 1953-54 on Formosa, the magistrates, mayors, and members of the provincial hsien and municipal assemblies were directly elected by the people in secret ballot. The Constitution also provides that a person after being elected may be recalled by the constituency (Article 133). Beside the rights of suffrage and recall, the people also possess the rights of initiative and referendum. However, although the Constitution states that the exercise of the rights of initiative and referendum shall be prescribed by law (Article 136), no law in this regard has been promulgated.

647 In the selection of public functionaries, the Constitution specifies that a system of competitive examinations shall be enforced, quotas of candidates shall be prescribed severally according to provinces and areas, and examinations shall be held by regions. No person may be appointed to a public office unless he has been qualified through

634 of 1950, a candidate for magistrate or mayor had to be at least thirty years of age. In an election held in 1954, other qualifications were added: to be a candidate for the office of magistrate or mayor, a person must either be a college graduate or have passed a senior civil service examination or have met the requirements set by the Examination Yuan. Secret ballots were cast in all elections. The order of the candidates on public notices and on the ballots were determined by lot. For the benefit of those voters who could not read, pictures of the candidates were printed next to their names; thus the voters would have no difficulty in voting correctly for the candidate of their choice.[12]

635 President Chiang Kai-shek proclaimed three principles on which the government was to formulate the regulations governing elections: a law-abiding spirit, an avoidance of waste, and the election of the good and the capable.[13] Accordingly, candidates were not permitted to spend more than a certain amount of money in campaigning and were forbidden to bribe their constituents or make a campaign issue of the private lives of their opponents. Supervisory offices were established by the Taiwan Provincial Government, which declared that stern measures would be taken against those who "use force, threat or other illegal means

12. China Handbook 1954-55, Taipei, China Publishing Company, 1954, p. 473.
13. Ibid., p. 470.

666 635 to interfere with the election campaign of the candidates, obstruct the casting and counting of votes, and hamper the performance of duties by those in charge of the election affairs."[14] Generally speaking, the elections were conducted in an orderly manner. No report of election "irregularities" has appeared in newspapers. Mr. Hsü Fu-lin, acting chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party, in answer to the query of an American newspaper correspondent, said that there had been no discrimination against the candidates of his party during the election campaign. A British newspaperman observed that "if Formosan elections cannot be regarded as free by the standards of the West, they have nevertheless been considerably more democratic in character than anything yet known in the Far East outside Hong Kong. The secret ballot prevails, but no candidate fundamentally opposed to the regime would have the temerity to stand for election."[15]

[161] The Civil Affairs Department of Taiwan Provincial Government reported the population of Taiwan Province to be 8,438,016 at the end of 1953. This number included 741,016 foreign-born (Mainlanders) but excluded military

14. A General Report Made by Governor O.K. Yui before the Fifth Session of the Provisional Provincial Assembly of Taiwan on Dec. 14, 1953, Taipei, Dept. of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1954, p. 31.

15. H. Maclear Bate, Report from Formosa, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1953, p. 23.

666 635 personnel. According to the regulation governing the election and recall of assembly members Mainlanders who have resided in Formosa for six months or more have the right to vote and stand for election. Members of the police and military forces and students may vote but are not eligible candidates for office.[16] The number of qualified voters at the end of 1953 was 3,715,552, approximately 45 per cent of the total civilian population.[17] The ratio of actual voters to qualified voters at the time of the two popular elections held in Formosa was as follows:[18]

Election	Year	Percentage of Participation
Provisional Provincial Assembly	1954	74.41
Hsien and Municipal Assemblies	1950	80.73
Hsien and Municipal Assemblies	1953	79.72
Magistrates and Mayors	1950	80.87
Magistrates and Mayors	1954	75.33

The first Provisional Provincial Assembly was elected by the hsien and municipal assemblies. After the first election, the percent of partici-

16. Tai-wan Sheng Cheng-fu Kung-pao [Official Gazette of Taiwan Provincial Government], Taipei, Secretariat of Taiwan Provincial Government, Autumn issue, No. 48, August 25, 1953, p. 611. [17,18 - next page]

666 pating voters decreased slightly, but the actual
635 number of people who cast their votes in subsequent elections increased. For instance, in the election of hsien and municipal assemblies the total number of votes cast in 1950 was 2,769,696; the number of votes cast in 1953 totalled 2,961,941. Of a total of 1,846 candidates, 860 members of the hsien and municipal assemblie were elected in 1953. Seventy-four members were women.

631 The educational background of local
635 legislators is much lower than that of the members of the Legislative Yuan. Over ninety per cent of the members of the current Legislative Yuan are college graduates; of the 860 members of the hsien and municipal assemblies, only 202 are graduates of universities or technical colleges, 342 are graduates of high schools, and the remainder attended primary schools or were privately tutored.

The occupations of the members of local legislatures have been reported as follows:[19]

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17. Number of civilian population on Formosa in February 1955 was 8,695,843; number of qualified voters: 3,997,226, according to report of Civil Affairs Dept. of Taiwan Provincial Government.

18. The China Handbook 1954-55, pp. 474-76.

19. Reports of the election offices, Dept. of Civil Affairs, Taiwan Provincial Government.

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FORMOSA AF1

631 urban centers as 'administrative units. The island is presently divided into sixteen counties and five province-controlled municipalities. Under them are various districts, townships, and villages.[12]

632 634 666 Within this framework of centralized control is carried out the program of encouraging local self-government. As of May 6, 1951, all the twenty-one mayors and county magistrates had been successively elected to their respective offices by popular vote.[13] Besides, there are 6,304 village and *li* (urban units akin to wards) assemblies learning self-government by doing. Representing them in township and district assemblies are some 8,024 village and *li* delegates.[14] On county and municipal levels are some 541 popularly elected councilmen.[15] Of an estimated 2,650,000 men and women of twenty years of age and over who are qualified to vote, some 2,416,072 had registered.[16]

647 Along with the development in local self-government has been an increase in the participation of local inhabitants in the management of their provincial affairs. It may be recalled that under the Japanese, of 84,559 government personnel in 1945, 55.53 per cent were Taiwanese, and the rest Japanese.[17] In June 1950 the total number of govern-

[12] See Provincial Government of Taiwan, *Report on Administrative Reorganization**, Taipeh, 1949; also Democratic Publications Association, *Taiwan Reconstruction** (Taipeh, 1950), Vol. 1, pp. 1–12.

[13] The Broadcast of Voice of Free China, Taipeh, April 28, 1951 reported the conclusion of nineteen local elections with the remaining two to be completed by May 6, 1951.

[14] April 1948 figures. Also see *Taiwan Reconstruction**, cited note 12 *supra*, pp. 7–12. The terms of office of the delegates have since been extended by the National Government to such time as "formal assemblies shall be constituted."

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] 1947 figure. See *Taiwan Reconstruction**, cited note 12 *supra*, p. 7.

[17] For a breakdown of government person-

[P. 216 (A)]

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was that the Taiwanese were accustomed to the peace and order of a country under a foreign tyranny, and could not, at first, understand the "lack of uniformity" and "the complexities" of democratic rule (thanks to the Japanese, on the other hand, they had no illusions about or yearnings after Communism). Finally, the men who governed Taiwan immediately after the retrocession gave every evidence of being more interested in increasing their power and lining their pockets than in providing good management. When, therefore, the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in 1949, it found that it had taken on numerous grave local problems in addition to those it had brought with it from the mainland.

Political Reform

The Kuomintang, the leading political party, prepared itself to deal with these problems by putting itself through a reorganization. Its younger, more liberal leaders were, to this end, appointed to a Central Reform Committee, the main task of which was to strengthen and tighten party organization and eliminate corrupt elements, opportunists, and bureaucratic politicians. On 1 September 1950, the Nationalist government was ready to announce a new political program. Its objectives were to

> encourage private enterprise to the extent of avoiding monopolistic combinations and to transfer government-operated light industries to private ownership; to establish a democratic industrial system in which the workers' welfare is safeguarded by allowing them a share and a voice in the ownership and management of private enterprise; to promote the interests of tenant farmers and farmers through land reform, water conservancy, and land reclamation; to carry out local self-government and to protect civil rights.

Local self-government and land reform were the fields in which the government brought about the most spectacular changes. It first removed all the social barriers and segregation measures that had been created and maintained by the Japanese. The native Taiwanese were no longer barred from institutions of higher learning, or from the worthwhile positions in commerce and politics. They were encouraged to participate in local self-government, and to think for themselves. By 6 May 1951, 21 mayors and magistrates in 16 counties and 5 municipalities had been elected to their respective offices by popular vote. There are now 6304 village and *li* (comparable to urban wards) assemblies, in which the Taiwanese are learning the art of self-government. Representing them in town and district assemblies are 8024 village and *li* delegates. On the county and municipal levels, there are about 541 popularly elected councilmen. Of an estimated 2,650,000 qualified men and women voters, some 2,416,072 are registered. In keeping with the government's policy of economy, the total number of government employees was reduced in June, 1950 to 81,000. The percentage of indigenous citizens in the government service rose to 65.46 percent.

There has also been a marked change in the importance and responsibility of the posts held by Taiwanese. In the category of first class officials, indigenous personnel have increased from 0.92 percent under Japanese rule to 17.45 percent in the present government. In the category of second class officials, indigenous personnel rose from 1.29 percent to 25 percent.

Land Reform

The other outstanding reform accomplished by the government has been the carrying out of a new land reform program, which has greatly benefited the lot of the farmers, who are no less than 60 percent of the population. For the 70 percent of the farmers who are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most